

# Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast by Stations of the American Broadcasting Co.



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## Is Total Mobilization a Threat to Democracy?

Moderator, **GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.**

*Speakers*

**ALBERT GORE**

**HUGH SCOTT**

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**COMING**

**October 3, 1950**

**Alaska's Role in National Defense**

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### THE BROADCAST OF OCTOBER 3:

#### **"Alaska's Role in National Defense"**



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# Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



SEPTEMBER 26, 1950

VOL. 16, No. 22

## Is Total Mobilization a Threat to Democracy?

### Announcer:

We hear first from Colonel Malcolm N. Stewart, Acting Commander of Lackland Air Force Base.

### Colonel Stewart:

Here at Lackland we have the tremendous task of launching the thousands of beginning airmen and officer candidates of our Nation into Air Force careers. An important part of this task is the indoctrination of these young men and women in a clear understanding of why they are being trained in the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

On behalf of Lackland's Commander, Major General Charles W. Lawrence, I take particular pleasure in welcoming America's Town Meeting here tonight. We are proud to be able to provide the sounding board from which Mr. Denny, his associates, and the American Broadcasting Company can demonstrate our most cherished heritage, free speech.

It is my privilege to introduce the President of Town Hall, Founder and Moderator of America's Town Meeting, Mr. George Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny.

### Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Colonel Stewart, may I congratulate you and General Lawrence and your staff on the magnificent job you are doing at this gateway to the Air Force. I know that the parents of these men in our armed forces would marvel in admiration, as I did, if they could look in on the varied activities of this base where you are



providing both military and citizenship training for the men and women of this vital branch of our national defense.

As we consider tonight's question, "Is Total Mobilization a Threat to Democracy?" let's remember that the opinions expressed here are those of the individual speakers and have no relation whatever to Air Force policy. Let's remember also that we've never had total mobilization in this country before. The only reason we are considering it now is because we are faced with the greatest aggregation of aggressive force bent on conquest that this world has ever known.

It has taken us a long time to recognize it for what it really is, for the methods of conquest of the men in the Kremlin are new and frightening to a people accustomed to believe in the integrity of the pledged word. Now we've joined with 52 other civilized nations to stop the military aggression of this force in Korea, but we are only partially mobilized.

What will it take to preserve from the bondage of the communist police state the way of life for which men have been struggling for over four thousand years—a way of life based upon the sanctity of human life and individual freedom? Is total mobilization necessary to check this enemy? If so, will this in itself be a threat to democracy?

We have a great privilege here tonight in being able to present two distinguished members of Congress—one a Republican and one a Democrat. Congressman Scott has just returned from a visit to the front lines in Korea. Congressman Albert Gore has just returned from the trouble spots of Europe.

We'll hear first from Congressman Hugh Scott, Jr., of the sixth district of Pennsylvania, who saw service in both World Wars, attaining the rank of commander in the United States Navy in the last war. As an attorney, he has long been active in politics and served as chairman of the Republican party in 1948-49. We are very happy indeed to welcome to our Town Meeting Congressman Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania.  
(Applause)

### **Congressman Scott:**

In Korea, in combat areas along the Naktong River, I've seen the dead and I've talked to the wounded, ours and theirs. A battle-weary, dog-tired American officer said to me, "When you go home, tell them what the dead would want you to say."

I do not know just how one fulfills that kind of a mission. I think that they'd want me to say that this is a tough and

a dreadful war, fought on forbidding terrain in dust and mud; that the enemy is brave and resourceful and fanatic; that we will win; and that we will not be thrown off the peninsula.

I think they would want me to say that the American people should mobilize their vast resources and their great skills to end this war; but more than that, to find the means to remove the threat of far more terrible consequences.

Mobilization is of several kinds: Military mobilization to conquer the present enemy and to stand off the Soviet menace; civilian mobilization of such a character as to strengthen our economy without destroying it; and finally, a mobilization of ideas. For, in the last analysis, this is a cataclysmic division of the world into two parts. This is a battle for the minds of men and of women in all of the world.

A lot of GI's have said to me, "What are the people at home going to do about getting us out of this mess? What comes after Korea? Is there any way to get peace in the world?" Is total mobilization the answer then?

If by total mobilization is meant the operation by the Government of all of our public services, the seizure by the Government of all our resources, the massing by the Government of all our productive workers into immense armies, I would not be for that. Certainly it would be more logical to plan a progressive mobilization adequate to our objectives without destroying our economy.

If we over-mobilize, Stalin will merely stay his hand, bide his time, and wait until we go stale and begin to demobilize, either voluntarily or involuntarily, at which time he will send in another scrub team or junior varsity of 150-pounders to make us go through the whole "hassle" again.

How could we mobilize, then, the free nations against the outlaws? I suggest that we can revise the charter of the United Nations to remove many of the obstructive features of the veto power; and if Russia will not go along, that we then organize a new assembly of the free, consisting of those countries still beyond the Iron Curtain; and that we prepare to make common cause against the totalitarian enslavers.

More than this, I think we should spend great sums of money to tell the Russian people and their satellites that no treaty can be made with Stalin or with the 14 plotters of the Politburo; that they have demonstrated that their word is no good; and that further abuse of the trust of free men is not in the cards.



I would tell the people of these enslaved countries through "Radio-Free Europe," through additional subsidized radio stations, through the placement of many more radios behind the Iron Curtain—and it can be done—that if and when the people of Russia select a free government of their own choosing, we will gladly make peace with such a government, we will agree to terms of disarmament, and we will extend economic aid to them. We will give them everything from wheat to wrist watches, if there is a possibility of peace.

I know this is idealistic, but I don't believe it is by any means impossible. The Soviet Government exists by power—by terror, and by restraint. The Red army, according to reputable reports, is not entirely loyal to the Kremlin. Whole provinces, such as the Ukraine and the Crimea, are restive. Many Russian divisions are not trusted for duty save in the interior.

Word that the United States would be willing to deal with a free Russian Government would send consternation through the Soviet, its secret police, its NKVD, and its commissars. In other words, I think it is time to make Stalin look over his shoulder, for a change; to make him look for his Alger Hisses, his Lee Pressmans, and his Harry Bridges. Stalin cannot be certain of the loyalty of any living Russian. Remember that the Soviet Union has won every single acre of its gains through propaganda, deals, and broken treaties and not, in the final analysis, by force of arms.

Stalin not only thinks of propaganda, he has doubled his domain by it. The alternative is atomic destruction and a horrible third World War. (Applause)

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Congressman Scott. Those are words from a Congressman and a veteran.

An old friend of Town Meeting listeners is Congressman Albert Gore of Tennessee, who has the unique distinction of being a farmer, a businessman, a lawyer, and a very active and busy member of Congress for the past twelve years. He has been back in this country only a few days from an extensive trip to Europe, and we're eager to have his views on this question. Congressman Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee. (Applause)

### **Congressman Gore:**

I acknowledge that total mobilization entails threats to

democracy, but so does communist dictatorship, and I think that is the greater threat. Obviously, neither you nor I would prefer either. The real question, it seems to me, is whether total mobilization, reasonably interpreted, is necessary.

Now I do not claim to know the answers to all of the many questions involved. I have thought about the problem of mobilization and the threats which it entails to democracy. And as I see it, the choice today is the same as it was the hour the Korean communist aggression demonstrated that international communism had passed beyond the political subversion field to conquest by violent aggressive warfare. That choice is between partial mobilization, which may or may not be enough, and total mobilization of the indomitable strength of this and other free nations.

Sure, our people and others would be spared the cost, the hardships, and the sacrifices of total mobilization if halfway measures should prove sufficient. But you and I know that this would be a desperate gamble with American security and world peace. As for me, I had rather risk doing too much than too little.

What do I mean by total mobilization? Well, I do not think it means going to ridiculous extremes, but on the other hand, I do think it means doing more than we have done. We are doing the easy things. The easiest thing is to draft a boy and appropriate the money we haven't got. The hardest thing is to think straight, to see clearly the true character of this global conflict, and to take the necessary steps to make peace and freedom secure.

Total mobilization is something we have never had. Neither have we ever had equality of sacrifice in war. We face a new challenge. I doubt if freedom has ever been as gravely imperiled as now.

Representative Scott has told you something of the experiences he has recently had in Korea and the Far East. I would like to express my apprehension that unless we do mobilize the strength of not only our great Nation, but also of other freedom-loving peoples, as well, Korea will prove to be but the first of a series of so-called small wars calculated to sap and bleed us into weakness and defeat.

Let us suppose that when we are committed in Korea with the bulk of our fighting strength, Soviet Russia should direct another satellite aggression into Iraq and Iran. These people are looking to us for protection; we are committed to them.



Suppose, then, that after we scrape the bottom of the barrel and send National Guard units and whatever infantry battalions and Air Force units we can gather, the Russian masters maneuver a conflict between Eastern and Western Germans, or start pushing us out of Berlin. What then?

Well, I was in Germany a few days ago, as the master of ceremonies has said. I saw our small forces in Berlin and Western Germany. As I talked with our intelligence people, General Taylor—our commandant in Berlin—German civilians, and GI's, I had the feeling that another Korea was in the making in Germany unless we start moving and moving quickly to mobilize the strength of this Nation and other free nations.

The grand pattern for the military and political assault has already been laid bare. I was told that 50 thousand young Germans are already in training in camps in the Russian zone in what is called a People's Police. They are being trained, not only in rifle battalions, but in heavy artillery battalions and tank battalions—hardly weapons that policemen would need to direct traffic and wield nightsticks.

Do you not see that Eastern Germans might be prodded into fighting Western Germans for the purpose of unifying their Reich homeland, just as Northern Koreans started fighting Southern Koreans? Of course, we are committed there, too.

I think that we should start moving and moving quickly to tie German man power, and German skills and industries into the Western European defense setup. I think that this, too, is a part of total mobilization. Also, we need to start moving, as Representative Scott has said, with imagination into the political and psychological sphere.

By total mobilization, I mean the arraying of the mind and productive capacities of free mankind against this threat to the freedom and dignity of every person upon earth. Only when mankind is thus awakened; only when the physical, the spiritual, mental, and psychological resources of the people who cherish and desire freedom are totally mobilized in concert and conviction against this totalitarian threat of aggression will peace and freedom be secured. (*Applause*)

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Congressman Gore. Now, while we get ready for our question period, here is a message for our Town Hall listeners.



## **Announcer:**

Last year, about this time, if you were listening to Town Meeting, you heard programs originating in Karachi, Pakistan, and New Delhi, India. At that time, you heard questions from audiences which had been thoroughly saturated with propaganda from Moscow.

Although an American Negro spoke on each of these programs and spoke the truth about America, these people showed by their questions that they found the statements about our country hard to believe. Now, they and others can see some of the truth for themselves.

This week in New York, the delegates of the men in the Kremlin will meet the Negro woman who spoke on our New Delhi Town Meeting program, for President Truman appointed Mrs. Edith Sampson, of Chicago, a delegate to the United Nations. Town Meeting is proud of this distinction accorded one of its first World Seminar members and wishes her every success in the important tasks before her.

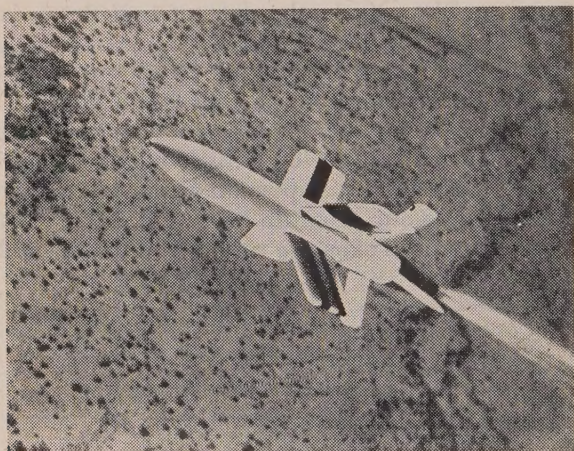
Now, to continue our program here at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas, we return you to our moderator, Mr. Denny.

# QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

*Mr. Denny:* We start with a question over there on the side. Yes, sir?

*Man:* I'd like to ask Mr. Scott if he thinks that either the communistic or the free countries can afford to lose in Korea?

*Congressman Scott:* I suppose that both factions feel that they can't afford to lose. That's what usually leads to war. Yet, in war somebody always loses. Somebody has said that everybody loses.



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*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Next question, over here.

*Man:* I should like to ask Congressman Gore if he feels Russia's plan for world conquest includes immediate direct aggression against the United States, or an attempt to first exploit us economically.

*Congressman Gore:* Only the men in the Kremlin can answer your question accurately. I do not know, but I do not envisage any direct assault upon the United States proper in any foreseeable future.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Now, the gentleman here.



*Man:* I wish to direct my question to Congressman Scott. Sir, do you think that military science and tactics should be placed within our school systems in order to accomplish mobilization?

*Congressman Scott:* I think it would help if at least some basic understanding of military science and tactics is given and some indoctrination on the part of all boys and girls of the fact that they'll be called on as citizens to do their various duties as they grow up is stressed in every school.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Now, in the middle of the hall. Yes?

*Man:* I'd like to direct my question to Representative Scott. Sir, should we become and stay fully mobilized for any great length, do you believe we face the threat of being unable to return to a normal democracy?

*Congressman Scott:* I think you put it very well. I think that if you over-mobilize, as Stalin would like, you would go stale. It's a question of the degree of mobilization as against a particular crisis. He's going to build one crisis after another, however.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Congressman Scott. Congressman Gore has a comment on that.

*Congressman Gore:* Of course, Great Britain underwent far more nearly total mobilization during World War II than we did. They are having great difficulty in returning to normal life, true; but they have made very rapid strides. I was in London and other parts of Great Britain a year ago and again last week, and I found they have made very rapid strides. Many, many of the basic freedoms which Englishmen have traditionally known are still there.

*Congressman Scott:* Of course, Congressman Gore, it takes the British a longer time to unwind than it does an American, anyway, I think. (Applause)

*Mr. Denny:* All right. Now, the gentleman with the blue shirt. Yes?

*Man:* I'd like to ask Congressman Gore which he thinks is more important, man power for industry and production of war goods, or man power for military mobilization?

*Congressman Gore:* I do not think either is of very much value very long in modern warfare without the other. They are essential Siamese twins and counterparts. We must mobilize the industrial and economic and scientific strength of this Nation as well as the military man power.

*Mr. Denny:* This gentleman wants to make a comment.

*Man:* As I understand it, we only have a couple of million men available in man power reserve. We also have the problem of arming and equipping those troops which will be our allies in Europe. If we have our own mobilization at maximum, how can we expect to equip those divisions of Europeans who will and want to be on our side if we deplete our man power sources in this country by military mobilization?

*Mr. Denny:* A nice question, Congressman.

*Congressman Gore:* Well, I tried to say in my opening statement that total mobilization meant the tying in and unifying of the efforts—military, industrial, psychological, political, and scientific—of all of the nations who love and cherish freedom. That's what we need—a unifying command—with each nation assigned its military as well as its industrial missions. Of course, we cannot contribute to the world the maximum amount of our strength if we deplete our industrial might by taking all of our men into a proletarian army. That is not the proper role for the United States of America, in my opinion.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Congressman Gore. Now, one of the best-dressed women in America, a WAAF. Yes?

## THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**ALBERT ARNOLD GORE**—Congressman Gore is a member of the House Appropriations Committee. He has been Democratic Representative from Tennessee since 1936.

Born in Granville, Tennessee, he graduated from Tennessee State Teachers College in Murfreesboro (B.S., 1932) and the Y. M. C. A. Night Law School in Nashville (LL.B., 1936). After his admission to the Tennessee Bar, he practiced in Carthage, Tennessee. During the year prior to his election to Congress, he served as State Commissioner of Labor.

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**HUGH DOGGETT SCOTT, Jr.**—Congressman Scott is a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. First elected to Congress in 1941, he has been Republican Representative from the Sixth Pennsylvania District in the 77th, 78th, 80th, and 81st Congresses.

Born in Fredericksburg, Va., he is a graduate of Randolph Macon College (A.B., 1919) and the University of Virginia (LL.B., 1922), and has practiced law in Philadelphia since 1922. During World War II, he was commander of the U. S. N. R. in the Pacific with the Third Amphibious Force.

Congressman Scott is the author of a book entitled *Scott on Bailments*.



*Lady:* Mr. Scott, what in your opinion would be the reaction of the lesser democratic powers if U. S. totally mobilizes?

*Congressman Scott:* Well, I think they'd be delighted to feel that we're willing to back our actions up with everything we've got. But the danger, as I said before, is that we may over-train, you see, and I think that's the important thing to avoid.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Let's hear the Democratic version on that question, too. Congressman Gore.

*Congressman Gore:* Well, it may not be an answer to that question, but I've found in Germany that the fact that the United States had gone quickly to its obligations in Korea had had a very great effect. They're saying over there now that, after all, Uncle Sam will fight with more than a pancake to back up his obligations.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Now the gentleman on the aisle.

*Man:* I would like to direct my question to Mr. Gore. Sir, do you believe that our political leaders would be of such integrity as to protect individual civil liberties, as expressed in the first ten amendments and the 14th Amendment, if we were to mobilize totally?

*Congressman Gore:* Yes, I do.

*Mr. Denny:* Congressman Scott.

*Congressman Scott:* I'd like to comment on that one. I have seen a great many of the wounded in Korea, on the hospital ships and in the hospitals at Pusan. There is no distinction here; no question of civil liberties. And I'd like to pay a special tribute to the stoicism and the courage which is shown by the men of all services. I saw a great many of the Negro wounded from the 24th Division, and I think they are wonderful. (Applause.)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Another fine young woman in the WAAF's here. Yes?

*Lady:* Congressman Scott. You are talking against total mobilization. Russia is totally mobilized. How are we ever going to defend ourselves against them if we aren't ready for them?

*Congressman Scott:* There's a great difference between being ready and being totally mobilized. I'm in favor of the smallest mobilization that we need at any given time. I think that the Russians actually are not by any means totally mobilized. They are using scrub teams, as I've said. Any time they get ready to be totally mobilized, they'll use a lot more than they have already used down in the peninsula of Korea.

*Lady:* I'm sorry, but I think that while Russia may not be mobilized and they may be using their scrub teams, their country is under the State, so that they can draw them in at any minute.

*Congressman Scott:* Well, that's an advantage that a totalitarian country has over any republic. They can kick their people around. We have to depend on keeping our economy going by free people operating in a civilian economy, as well as a military one. I again say, I'm in favor—as a matter of fact, I would freeze all prices and wages right now. I would certainly go that far, but I would not freeze the whole economy of the country because we don't know how long we're going to be in.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Congressman Scott. Congressman Gore has a comment.

*Congressman Gore:* I want to agree with the young lady. Winston Churchill cried out in a wilderness twelve years ago, warning his countrymen and the free mankind of the world to prepare to stop the assault that was coming from Germany. He cried in vain. He is now warning us again that we have two years in which either to prepare for a third World War, or to prevent it. I think the only security we have against another war is to mobilize the strength of this Nation, roll up our sleeves, and let friend and foe alike know that we're going to stick. (Applause)

*Mr. Denny:* Next question.

*Man:* Concerning the question that was addressed a moment ago to Congressman Scott, what has he to say for all the satellite powers and the legions that they have mustered?

*Congressman Scott:* Well, I would say first of all that I suspect that they are very unhappy to be mustered, especially to the Russian hot dog. (Laughter) I think that the very weakness of Russia is also in a sense its strength. It is able to use all these people, but it can never be sure of the extent of loyalty. I never met anybody in Europe or Asia who wouldn't like to immigrate to the United States. (Applause)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you very much, Congressman Scott and Congressman Gore. Colonel Stewart, I certainly want to congratulate you and General Lawrence on this perfectly marvelous audience and the way your staff has coöperated. Thank you for your hospitality and your wonderful coöperation. In just a few moments, we'll tell you about our subject and speakers for next week.



**Announcer:** Before we tell you about next week's subject, let's think a little more about tonight's subject.

Town Hall would like to have your opinion on this important question. As most of you know, Town Hall publishes each of these broadcasts in its weekly bulletin TOWN MEETING. And beginning next week, we plan to reinstate our "Letters from Listeners." We can't get them in the bulletin of this week's program, but next week, if you'll write in promptly,



# Town Meeting Bulletin

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we'll print representative letters with your views on this question, "Is Total Mobilization a Threat to Democracy?"

If you would like a copy of tonight's TOWN MEETING, complete with questions and answers, send your name and address, together with 10c, to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. Send your comments to the same address: Town Hall New York 18, New York.

Now, to tell you about next week's program, here is your special announcer:

**Announcer:** Continuing its tour of United States Air Force Bases, America's Town Meeting next week originates for the first time from Alaska. The program will be broadcast from Elmendorf Air Force Base, near Anchorage. Our subject will be, "Alaska's Role in National Defense." We will have as speakers the Honorable Ernest Gruening, Governor of Alaska since 1939, and John E. Manders, outstanding attorney and former Mayor of Anchorage. Mr. Denny will preside as moderator.

So plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's bell. (*Applause*)